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CARDINAL TENETS OF THE PEOPLES PARTY.

Recognition of the Right of the People to Rule, *i. e.*, The Initiative and Referendum.
Creation and Maintenance of an Honest Measure of Values.
Government Ownership and Operation of Railroad, Telegraph and Telephone Lines.
Opposition to Trusts.
Opposition to Alien Ownership of Land and Court-made Law.

NOTES OF THE WEEK.

IN VOTING for the ratification of the treaty, the Senate, declares the New York *Herald*, deliberately embarked on a colonial policy. That, says this first of imperialistic organs, is the real significance of the vote. And much are we inclined to believe that this is so, regret it though we may. It is indeed true that in recording their votes in favor of the treaty, Senators made no declaration of their purposes with regard to the islands that Spain cedes to us. By their votes for the treaty they bound themselves to no specific policy, they did not by such vote pledge

themselves in favor of the permanent acquisition of the Philippines, in favor of holding those islands as a dependency of the United States. Indeed, it is certain that several of the Senators who voted for the treaty are in favor of granting the Filipinos independence, of according to them the right of self-government and are much opposed to the United States exercising sovereignty over those far off islands. But the spirit in which many Senators spoke and the majority voted for the treaty, showed only too clearly that they purposed to inaugurate a colonial policy in taking the Philippines. Clearly, the majority of the Senate is opposed to the withdrawal of our troops from the Philippines that the people thereof may be free to rule themselves by a government of their own choosing, and resolved to keep the Philippines, rule them as dependencies and after a manner that administration Senators have falsely convinced themselves will lead to our own self aggrandizement. Thus are they disposed to treat the Filipinos as if they had no rights and regard them as mere stepping stones to our enrichment.

THIS is the sentiment that Senators favorable to ratification evinced in the bitterness of feeling that they gave expression to both privately and in debate before the taking of the vote. It is true that in the acrimony of bitter debate some distinguished advocates of ratification went so far as to deny any purpose to hold the Philippines for our own self aggrandizement, for any selfish purpose, and to charge Senators who in their opposition to the treaty had declared such to be the purpose of the annexationists with the responsibility for the bloodshed in the Philippines. They charged that Senators opposed to the policy of taking the Philippines and holding them as dependencies, Senators in favor of giving the Philippines independence and asserting that the purpose of the Administration, of the annexationists, was to rule those islands primarily with a regard to our profit, had misled the Filipinos and that to this misleading, this inculcating of the belief that we purposed to occupy the islands with the end of governing the people as a servile race to be driven to labor for the enrichment of American syndicates, seeking the opportunity to exploit the riches of the islands and despoil the people of the increased fruits of their toil that might come with such exploitation, was due the assault the Filipinos made upon our troops. If Filipinos had not been misled into the belief that we purposed to occupy the Philippines as oppressors not as benefactors they would never have assaulted our position, never have fired upon our troops.

So argued these Senators who sought to lay the responsibility for bloodshed at the doors of those opposed to the forcible annexation of the islands, of those demanding that the Filipinos be granted independence, the opportunity to build a republic such as they proclaimed their desire to build. It was, said these Senators, due to the opponents of annexation and them alone that Filipinos gained the idea that we purposed to hold the islands as their oppressors. And when they gained this idea they attacked us. If they had been led to entertain the belief that we purposed to hold the islands as their benefactors they would have

continued to regard us as their friends, our occupation would not have excited their enmity. Consequently the bloodshed lies at the door of the opponents of annexation who asserted that the purpose of those who urged the taking of the Philippines was the laying open of those islands to exploitation by our people.

So say these Senators. They declared that they purposed to enter into and hold the Philippines as the benefactors of the people of those islands. True, they purposed to take possession and hold possession even against the will of the people if they should make resistance, but this was because they were better judges of what would make those people prosperous and happy than the Filipinos themselves. This, of course, is based on a denial of the doctrine of democracy, it is a recognition of the justness of monarchical principles. And an announcement of such principles is not calculated to instill confidence of a people struggling for liberty in the uprightness of our intentions. Proclaiming those principles they naturally judged we came as oppressors, for it is behind just such principles that oppression is defended the world over. It is not because opponents of annexation charged the annexationists with wanting the Philippines for purposes of exploitation, of exacting tribute, but because the very annexationists entered on their career of territorial acquisition proclaiming the principles of oppression that the Filipinos doubted the uprightness of our intentions and were goaded into attacking us.

AGAIN this charge put at the doors of those opposed to the forcible annexation of the Philippines is in conflict with the charge that they are responsible for the spilling of blood in that they gave encouragement to the Filipinos. In one breath, we have the Administration defenders declaring that the anti-annexationists precipitated bloodshed by inculcating the belief in the breasts of Filipinos that we purposed to hold the islands as their oppressors, in the next that the anti-annexationists precipitated bloodshed by encouraging the Filipinos by showing them that there were those in America opposed to their oppression; in one breath we are charged with precipitating bloodshed by filling the Filipinos with dismal forebodings, with despair, in the next by opening to them a vista of hope. In these charges there is contradiction, surely opposite causes cannot have had the same effect, clearly the bloodshed is charged at wrong doors. It lies at the doors of those who by their words, their acts, their deeds, drove the Filipinos to despair of receiving justice at our hands save at the point of the sword. And so despairing they appealed to the sword, despairingly indeed, but not without knowledge that some peoples in the past who have taken up the sword in heroic despair and against seemingly hopeless odds have not taken it up in vain.

THE taking of the vote on the ratification of the treaty was preceded by as acrimonious debate as has occurred in the Senate since the days preceding the repeal of the Silver purchasing clause of the Sherman Act in the autumn of 1893. Indeed, the bitter things said of those who opposed the ratification of the treaty are likely to leave more ill feeling behind than even the charges of dishonesty and filibustering laid at the doors of the silver Senators in 1893 by their gold opponents. Then one who opposed the policy of the Administration, the wishes of the moneyed cliques was dishonest; now one who opposes the Administration policy, the wishes of the same money cliques is a traitor. Besides, the final scene preceding the vote on the treaty was given a very hot setting by the news from the Philippines and the outcome of the struggle was in doubt to the very last. But by promises one Democratic Senator, McEnery, of Louisiana, was won over, and a second, McLaurin, of South Carolina, was won over to the treaty by the shots in the Philippines. And so the votes necessary to insure ratification were gained, the treaty

approved. And yet the ratification of the treaty, that which it pleases us to call the peace treaty, leaves us face to face with war.

It is a significant coincidence that the assault of Filipinos on our lines at Manila, and that won over a much needed vote for the treaty, was precipitated on the verge of the time fixed by the Senate for voting upon the treaty. Supporters of that treaty make the charge that Aguinaldo deliberately precipitated that assault and upon the advice of Agoncillo from Washington in the mistaken idea that such assault would strengthen the hands of those fighting the treaty and make assured its rejection. On the other hand, and considering the results with better foundation, the Filipino junta at Hong Kong declares that the Americans invited such assault and then reported it as a wanton attack of the Filipinos with the view of influencing wabbling Senators to vote for ratification. We can only add that if the first supposition is correct, Aguinaldo made an egregious blunder, that if the second supposition is correct the supporters of the treaty so far at least gained their ends as to secure one additional and much needed vote. But be it remarked, there is no proof behind either of these suppositions, nothing more than innuendo, and for our part we pin our faith to neither, being inclined to believe that the fight was the culmination of grievances and insults that though petty in themselves together excited great enmity and of the mutual hate and distrust of the opposing forces.

The vote of Senator McEnery for the treaty was secured by the promise given by the treaty managers that they would follow the vote on the treaty by taking up and passing a resolution that some assert would be equivalent to a declaration of the Senate that Filipinos should be treated as Cubans, that others assert would merely declare the opposition of the Senate to the acquisition of the Philippines with the view of carving out of those islands sovereign States for admission into the Union. As we read it the resolution has only the latter meaning, it does not promise the Filipinos independence, it does not declare against the acquisition of those islands and the permanent holding of those as dependences of the United States, it merely declares against acquisition with a purpose of carving them up into sovereign States. Indeed the resolution from a Filipino standpoint is worse than none. Still by the promise of taking up and passing this resolution after the treaty was disposed of Senator McEnery's vote was gained by the treaty managers. The vote was duly delivered but the promise made Mr. McEnery has not been made good. The treaty managers tried half-heartedly indeed to keep their promise but meeting opposition they acted as if they felt absolved from the promise they made.

INTO the fight over the treaty was injected the squabble for the control of the Democratic party. At least Senator Gorman, leading the opposition to the treaty, was charged with so injecting it, a charge be it said, however, that he much resents. Well recognized fact it is that Senator Gorman is opposed to the Chicago platform and would be much pleased to see the leadership of the Democratic party wrested from Mr. Bryan. Indeed this he candidly admits and rumor credited him with a purpose to wrest that leadership for himself. To this, fuel was added by the antagonistic attitude of Mr. Bryan and Senator Gorman towards the treaty. Both are equally opposed to extending our domination over the Philippines but while Mr. Gorman opposed the ratification of the treaty Mr. Bryan favored, sensibly arguing that the fight for Philippine independence could be better fought after ratification and when the whole matter was in our own hands than before. So immediately upon resignation from the army Mr. Bryan traveled to Washington and urged Senators of his party to vote to ratify the treaty. This brought him at once into conflict with Senator Gorman who was arraying Democrats in opposition to the treaty, striving to make a party question out of it. At first Mr. Gorman's lines wavered but soon he had

marshalled two-thirds and more of the Democrats in opposition to the treaty and incidentally Mr. Bryan. In short he made it very evident that he rather than Mr. Bryan was leader among Democratic Senators and among silver Democratic Senators even though he himself belonged to the gold and monopolist wing of the party.

So arose rumors that Senator Gorman was playing to supplant Mr. Bryan and make himself Presidential candidate of the Democratic party in 1900, charges that he was holding up the treaty to further personal ambition. On the floor of the Senate this was broadly hinted at by Senator Wolcott, of Colorado. And this called forth from Senator Gorman an indignant disclaimer. Closing the debate on the treaty he spurned the charge, directly and explicitly he declared that in serving his state in the United States Senate the height of his ambition had been attained; that as the people of his state had chosen to retire him by choosing a Republican to succeed him after he had served his state for three consecutive terms he would cheerfully lay aside the burdens of office, the responsibilities of leadership; that he had no ambition to lead the Democratic Presidential campaign in 1900, no ambition to serve by holding up the treaty and he resented the charge that he would in any event stoop so low as to put his country's welfare in the scales against his personal ambition. From conviction that ratification of the peace treaty would mark our departure on a colonial system, from conviction that this would be fraught with dire disaster to his country he opposed the ratification of the treaty. And with him on these grounds stood the majority of the rock rib Democrats while most of the Fusionists and silver Republicans followed Mr. Bryan's advice, as did several straight Republicans opposed to expansion. Only two Republicans, Senators Hale and Hoar, followed Mr. Gorman, to be called traitors to their country and be regarded as traitors to their party. Indeed, by their party they have been almost ostracized, by their course they have made their position most unpleasant. For them to oppose the treaty took great courage, a greater courage than demanded of any other treaty opponents. But to their convictions they were true, they knew the consequences of their act, but rather than be false to themselves they accepted the consequences. For this all honor to them, even though we see no wisdom in the course they chose for fighting the inauguration of a colonial policy.

AGUINALDO is coming in for more than his full share of abuse. Amongst the press it seems as if there were much rivalry as to who can paint him in blackest colors. Not very long since the same papers were singing his praises, talking of him as the liberator of his race, and they knew just as much bad about him then as now. Now they write of him as a black traitor who has in the past sold his country for gold. And what is the ground for this charge? A little more than a year ago he was leading the Filipinos in revolt against Spain. The Spanish longing to secure peace in the Philippines that they might exert their undiverted energies to the suppression of the Cuban rebellion, made advances to the Filipinos for peace. They offered the Filipinos certain much wished for reforms, offered them a degree of autonomous government if they would lay down their arms. Further, they insisted on the deportation of Aguinaldo, they much feared him, and agreed to pay him a very considerable sum of money. These terms were accepted, the Filipinos laid down their arms, Aguinaldo left his country for Hong Kong and was paid by the Spanish several hundred thousand dollars, part of the agreed sum. This money he accepted from the Spaniards as a pledge of their good faith. He did not accept it as his own, he accepted it as offering the means to put arms again in the hands of Filipinos and so renew the contest of arms should the Spanish prove faithless to their pledges. And faithless did the Spanish prove, and to secure the independence of his people Aguinaldo has drawn on this sum. Now in all this what is there dishonorable? We fail to see.

Furthermore, full well knowing this, knowing that Aguinaldo did not stand discredited in the eyes of his people for accepting Spanish gold, knowing that his people trusted him, feeling that he could serve us, Consuls Pratt and Wildman held communication with him, arranged for his transportation to the Philippines on an American transport, encouraged him to incite his people to rise in arms to expel the Spanish and gain their independence. And if these consuls did not promise the recognition of a free and independent Philippine republic by the United States they came so mighty near it that Aguinaldo gained the impression that they did. And now we declare him a rebel.

THE ratification of the treaty of peace does not change our legal status in the Philippines or towards Spain in any way, for as yet that instrument is not complete. Ratification by the Spanish Cortes is a condition precedent to its promulgation by the Queen Regent of Spain and President McKinley and until it is so promulgated Spain and the United States are technically at war with hostilities suspended under the protocol of August 12th. In fact, until such promulgation the war is not officially at an end. But though the protocol is still the instrument by which we are supposed to shape our conduct towards Spain, circumstances have been such as to compel us to depart therefrom. According to that protocol Cuba and Puerto Rico were to be at once evacuated by the Spanish garrisons and occupied by American troops. At once of course meant that evacuation should be commenced as soon and carried on as rapidly as possible. The last Spanish troops only sailed from Cuba this week. But so far as those islands are concerned there has been no difficulty in living up to the terms of the protocol.

But out in the Philippines things are different. That protocol set forth that the *status quo* in those islands should be preserved pending the promulgation of peace. Almost from the very beginning we have disregarded that protocol. We began by sending reinforcements, followed this up by sending an expedition to take possession of Iloilo and even around Manila we have been unable to preserve the *status quo*. Filipinos have made it impossible. We have had to act just as if we were in undisputed sovereignty. During all this time we have chosen by the quibble of the law, to regard Filipinos as subjects of Spain, that is, technically our enemies, but with whom hostilities were suspended by the protocol. Naturally, as these Filipinos were enemies of Spain the Spanish Government has cared little how we have treated them. A curious circumstance is, however, that many former Spanish soldiers are serving in the Filipino ranks. A little while ago Filipinos united with us to drive the Spanish out, now Spanish, of course, as individuals, unite with Filipinos to drive us out.

WHEN the treaty of peace is ratified by the Spanish Cortes and officially promulgated, 30,000 of our regular troops will be entitled by the terms of their enlistment to their discharge for by war department order officially promulgated they were promised discharge at the close of the war if so desired. Indeed the regular army must be reduced to 26,000 men unless the law be amended before the promulgation of peace, for the act authorizing the increase of the regular army passed in the early days of war specifically authorized the increase for the period of the war only, and explicitly directed that upon the completion of the war the regular army be at once reduced to its anti bellum strength of 26,000 men. The status of the volunteers of whom there are still 80,000 in service is somewhat doubtful, the terms of their enlistment being somewhat involved. When they enlisted the general understanding was that they enlisted for two years or for the war if lasting not so long. But Attorney-General Griggs has decided that they may be held in service for the full two years of enlistment if desired. The probabilities are, however, that Congress will make some provision for the increase of the regular

army before adjournment and that the volunteers will be mustered out of service at an early date unless we find a task on our hands in the Philippines of unexpected magnitude.

On account of Cuba it is apparent that we need make no great provision for troops. The visit of Mr. Porter, Special Commissioner of the President, to General Gomez; the successful outcome of that visit; the arrangement for the early disbandment of the Cuban troops and the advance of three million of dollars to assist the needy in getting a new start in life, settling down to peaceful pursuits; the proven adaptability of the Cuban soldiers to the duty of policing the island and their proven effectiveness and reliability in this work all join to make a bright prospect in Cuba. Moreover, there seems no disposition on the part of Cubans to assume an overbearing attitude towards Spaniards, there appears to be a disposition to forget the past, to join hands for the upbuilding of the island. We have now between forty and fifty thousand troops in Cuba but for the most part they have nothing to do. Before the rainy and unhealthy season sets in again we should recall most of these troops. Mr. Porter declares that even now "there is really no necessity for more than two regiments in each province to serve as a background of support for the Cuban police." In other words twelve regiments would, according to the President's own special commissioner, amply meet all the present need for American troops in Cuba. Yet as a matter of fact we have four times this number. Why are they thus uselessly kept there? Is it to impress Congress with the belief that a large army is needed and so influence it to vote an increase larger than really required? Congress should inquire into this, for the country cannot afford to support a large army of men in idleness.

FURTHERMORE the finances of the government are in such shape as to cause Congress to pause. It is time that Congress ceased making appropriations as if that was all it had to do and without regard to revenues. Uncle Sam's strong box is not bottomless. More is now being taken out than finds its way in. And though his box is pretty deep and pretty full this cannot long go on without bringing us up face to face with the necessity of putting out another bond issue or increasing the taxes. And as legislators do not find the imposing of taxes as pleasing a pastime as the voting of appropriations they should take heed. Now there is much money in the national treasury and on deposit with the banks, a net balance of \$275,000,000, of which \$90,000,000 is on deposit with the banks. And there is no need for the keeping of such great balance. True, \$100,000,000 of this is the sacred gold reserve and we suppose under present rulings we cannot think of depleting this. But of the \$175,000,000 that remains over and above this sum the treasury could comfortably pay away at least \$100,000,000. But though this sum is large it will all be gone before the meeting of the 56th Congress next December unless steps are taken to keep expenditures down. And then we will be face to face with the necessity of borrowing or imposing more taxes.

Now we do not advocate a policy of parsimony, we do not raise any protest against the voting of large sums of money for the promotion of great public undertakings, the building of public works of obvious utility and such as must increase the earning powers of our people. For public moneys thus spent are well spent and taxes collected to meet such expenditures are, if justly imposed, no burden. Thus we enter no protest at the magnitude of the River and Harbor bill though we much fear that much money thereunder appropriated is unwisely appropriated. Moreover do we urge Congress to appropriate money for the building of the Nicaraguan canal. But the making of provision for a needlessly large army, the appropriation of money to keep up such an unproductive machine is extravagant. When that machine is not needed for the protection of other productive

machines it is time to break it up and save the expense of maintenance. And from the creation of such a machine to subjugate the Filipinos and protect such of our people as may be engaged in the exploitation, the despoilment of those people, will not profit us anything. All these things should be borne in mind in voting an increase of the army.

IF WE refuse to accord to the Filipinos the right of self-government, if we undertake their subjugation we will simply saddle upon ourselves a burden of \$60,000,000 or so for several years and without the prospect of any return that will accrue to the advantage of our whole people, the people who pay the taxes. If we undertake to subjugate the Filipinos and then hold them in subjugation while a few syndicates exploit the wealth of the islands and despoil the people we will be fortunate if we can get along—that is, overawe the Filipinos and keep them submissive in all those islands, with a force of less than 50,000 men. And the maintenance of such an army in the Philippines and of a sufficient naval force to work in conjunction with it will cost not less than \$60,000,000 a year. Now do we want to shoulder this expense that a few in America, and paying a very small part of the taxes, may have the opportunity to exploit the islands and despoil the people under our protection?

But to leave this and take a hurried glance at our National finances. We have said that there is a round hundred millions of dollars now in the Treasury or subject to the draft of the United States in excess of the hundred million gold reserve and an ample working balance. But of this \$100,000,000, \$20,000,000 will soon be needed to pay Spain for the Philippines that, if we refuse to set them free, will be prone to cost us about \$60,000,000 a year. Thus the available surplus will be reduced to \$80,000,000, and at the present rate of deficits it will take just about ten months to exhaust this. Of course, it is possible to cut down these deficits. But until we cut down our army, muster out some of our volunteers, there will come no material reduction, and not then if, having provided for an increase in the regular army, we muster in regulars to take their places. The truth is with war in the Philippines and while insisting on keeping 45,000 men in Cuba when 12,000 would suffice, there will come no curtailment of the deficit, rather will that deficit grow.

SO IF we enter on the policy of gathering foreign dependencies in the name of trade and begin with the Philippines, subjugating the people thereof and setting up a government regardless of their wishes, Congress will be prone to meet next December to be confronted with the necessity of providing for a deficit. And taxes inequitably and unfairly imposed as they are now, are too burdensome to be increased without protest. We are now raising by national taxation somewhere between 480 and 500 millions of dollars a year and 90 per cent. of this is raised by taxes on consumption and mostly on articles consumed as largely by the poor as by the rich. Consequently the burden of taxation falls much more heavily upon the poorer of our citizens, than upon the well to do. It is true that some of the taxes on consumption are taxes on luxuries, customs duties or goods imported to cater to the demands of the rich and the burden of such taxes falls upon the rich. But much the greater part of our taxes are raised upon the necessities of life and collected from the people as an enhancement in price of the things they buy. These taxes being thus indirectly collected, the people do not recognize just what they are paying as taxes and they suffer the inequitable distribution of taxation in silence. Just think what a protest there would be if we should impose a direct tax in place of these indirect taxes and send the national tax collector to knock at the door of the poor man as of the rich and demand the same number of dollars from each! Yet this is just what we are now doing under the cover of indirect taxation. The gross injustice is not so apparent but the wrong done is just as great.

OF the sum of \$480,000,000 or so a year that we are now raising by National taxation about \$190,000,000 is derived from customs duties, about \$270,000,000 from internal revenue taxes and about \$20,000,000 from miscellaneous resources. Now all the customs duties and nearly the whole of the internal revenue taxes are taxes on consumption. The great revenue yielding customs duties are those on articles of such general consumption as sugar, tobacco and tea. About half of the customs taxes are derived from those three things. And as the poor man consumes about as much sugar and tea as the rich, and as the duty is just as high upon the cheap tea of the poor as the superior tea bought by the rich, the richer citizen is taxed no more by these duties than the poorer. And of the internal revenue taxes \$80,000,000 are derived from spirits, \$50,000,000 from tobacco, \$60,000,000 from beer, \$50,000,000 from documentary and proprietary stamps. Now the stamps required on proprietary articles are just as much taxes on consumption as the whiskey and tobacco and beer taxes. And as the poor man, it may not be for his weal, consumes whiskey and beer as largely as the rich and as there is no difference in the tax on inferior and superior grades the poor man pays of these taxes just as much as the well to do. The tobacco taxes are to a degree graded according to quality of tobacco and as the rich use the superior grades they, man for man, pay more of this tax than the poor. The articles upon which proprietary stamps must be affixed are however of general consumption and so these taxes come in the same category as the beer and whiskey taxes. They are in effect per capita taxes. Consequently the richer a man is the smaller is the percentage of his income that he is required to contribute for the support of government.

Of the afore mentioned taxes, that on tea is one of the war taxes and the taxes on tobacco were increased 50 per cent. and the beer taxes doubled by the war tax, while the taxes on proprietary articles are wholly the impositions of the war revenue bill. Indeed the only taxes imposed by that bill so as to fall upon men with some regard to their ability to pay are those paid by stamps required to be affixed to various documentary papers, etc., and the inheritance tax. The consumption of documentary stamps bears a close relation to the business done and so bears a rough relation to earnings, this on the assumption that earnings and business grow together.

Such is the present system of taxation, a grievously unjust one. Now if our legislators again embark on the field of taxation what may we expect? We opine the same kind of taxation, the placing of a duty on coffee, now untaxed but which could be made to yield largely, the imposition of sundry internal revenue taxes on articles of general consumption. So let us beware of making the necessity.

THERE has been reported to the House and as an amendment to the Senate bill a Nicaragua canal bill quite indefinite in form, leaving a wide discretion in the President's hands but showing it to be the sense of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Commission of the House that the canal should be built as a government work and paid for by direct appropriation out of the Treasury. In going thus far the committee deemed it was doing all that was necessary, for the aim was not so much to frame a finished measure as to get some measure through the House and into conference committee in the hope that in such joint committee a finished measure might be evolved such as would secure the approval of both Houses and make provision for the starting of this great public work. The near approach of the end of the session makes, however, the passing of the measure through the House and the evolving of a final measure from conference committee very doubtful.

Another measure which is likely to meet the same fate is the Hanna-Payne ship subsidy bill. But unlike the Nicaragua Canal bill we have no regrets over the prospective failure of the

subsidy bill. The building up of an American merchant marine is indeed much to be desired, but we should build it up by re-inaugurating the policy that gave to American vessels the foreign carrying trade of the country in the early years of the Republic and made our flag known on every sea. That was the policy of discriminating tariff duties, the policy of making the duties on foreign goods higher when imported in foreign vessels than when imported in American. Thus were American vessels given a preference. We should re-inaugurate the system now, for in the end it would result in no tax upon the American people in the shape of higher ocean freight rates, but would rather insure them lower freight rates through the establishment of direct freight lines between the United States and our natural markets, the countries to the south of us. There are indeed certain commercial treaties in the way of returning to this policy, but those treaties we have the right to abrogate and the abrogation would entail upon our trade with foreign countries, the countries of Europe, no evil consequences, for an attempt of those countries to retaliate would simply result in cutting off their own noses. To the paying of bounties out of the national treasury to build up an ocean marine we are opposed. We built up our manufacturing industries by tariff duties and without burdening our people through a continued enhancement in price of the things they buy, indeed with the result of bringing down prices and thus relieving our people from a burden, not imposing a burden upon them. We can build up or rather rebuild our ocean marine in the same way and it is the way to do it.

THE Judiciary Committee of the House has decided that General Wheeler and those other members who accepted military commissions during the last war did, by such acceptance, vacate their seats in the House, under the provision of the Constitution which declares that "no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either House during his continuance in office." By this decision the House Judiciary Committee has sort of prejudiced the case of Mr. Scott, recently elected from West Virginia to the National Senate, but whose election and right to take his seat is disputed on the ground that he was elected with the help of the votes of two State Senators holding military commissions of the United States, and that the State Constitution, like the National Constitution, forbids any person holding office under the United States from acting as a member of the State Legislature. However, the Senate Judiciary Committee is not bound by the action of the Judiciary Committee of the House, and the Senate being Republican probably will not deem it to be its duty to go behind the returns, resting on the assumption that the passing on the qualifications and alleged ineligibility of any man chosen to a seat in a state Legislature rests exclusively with the respective Houses of such Legislature, and that the United States Senate has no right to interfere.

THE court martial appointed to try General Eagan for his scurrilous attack on General Miles and on the charge of conduct unbecoming an officer and gentleman, and subversive of military discipline, found a verdict of guilty and that by his conduct he had incurred the penalty of dismissal from the army. The President, in reviewing the findings of the court martial, decides that General Eagan would be fitly punished by giving him a holiday with full pay for six years. Very severe.

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OUR DAY OF SORROW.

ON a Sunday morning nine months ago events transpired in Manila bay that thrilled the American people with boundless rejoicing. On that day American sailors freely offered up their lives as a sacrifice in the cause of liberty, for the upliftment of downtrodden humanity, for the emancipation of a people from foreign oppression. They offered their lives for the promotion of a righteous cause; the God of hosts looked down upon them with His infinite sympathy and pity for noble men offering their lives in a noble cause, the sacrifice they offered was not demanded, they won an immortal victory. So no tears for an American hero, humble or exalted, sacrificed in the cause of liberty, detracted from the joy of the American people over this that men believed to be a liberty giving victory.

And now again on a Sunday morning is there fought out at Manila a battle that fills the American people with emotion. But it is a thrill if not of sadness, certainly not of unalloyed joy. For on that far off battlefield lie stretched in death American soldiers who responded to the call of duty. And worse, have they fallen not fighting in the cause of liberty, but for the subjugation of their fellow men consecrating their lives in that hallowed cause; they have been called upon to dedicate their lives not to the goddess of liberty, but the moloch of greed. To that call they responded as is a soldier's duty, in responding to that call many Americans laid down their lives. Rather than this sacrifice at the throne of greed, would we see ten times the number of Americans sacrificed to the cause of liberty, to the cause which our forefathers cherished and fought for, for the conservation of which they dedicated the American Republic. With infinitely less emotion, with infinitely more composure, with infinitely fewer tears could we bear the greater sacrifice if made in a righteous cause, for we would feel the sacrifice had not been made in vain. As it is we feel the sacrifice of American manhood has been worse than vain, that by that sacrifice the cause of humanity will profit nothing, lose much.

In the name of trade expansion, in the greed for unearned gain have we listened to the tempter, taken up a position in the Philippines with every appearance of permanence, caused the Filipinos to believe that we are there not to give them liberty, but to exploit, despoil them as a servile race as Spanish have despoiled them unmercifully in the past and we have goaded them into resistance, into an effort to oust us whom to them and by our own acts have ceased to appear as welcome liberators and have become hateful invaders. The moloch of greed has called for a sacrifice of American manhood, the sacrifice has been taken and the worshippers at her shrine in America go on their way rejoicing. That the Filipinos have been goaded into resistance they rejoice, for it has offered the Americans the opportunity to teach that people cut out as a servile race a needed lesson, the lesson that they are no match for Americans, that they are an inferior race fit only to toil at the direction and for the profit of others, that as a servile race we intend to keep and treat them. So these worshippers at the shrine of greed rejoice, for so they look upon the Filipinos, aye, and upon our own laboring population too, so they propose to treat them, for this end they want the Philippines, and as it appears to them the sooner the Filipinos be beaten into abject submission and servility the better.

And this treatment of the Filipinos they call in their own hypocritical cant a duty—thus do they pander to an uneasy conscience. It is a duty to be master to the Filipinos because they are an inferior people, it is a duty to be master to them so that they may be shown how to direct their labor so as to secure greatest results, so that they may be uplifted in material and spiritual ways, for be it remarked that these worshippers at the shrine of Mammon lay much stress on the sword as a means to

open the way to the teachings of Christianity and yet call themselves disciples of the Prince of Peace. So to take up and assume this mastership over Filipinos, to shape their future, to keep them in subjection, to deny them independence, to keep them from rising as an independent people, of course all for their own good, is put forth as our duty.

It is this that a British poet in tempting us on calls the "White man's burden"—as if it was a burden to the white man to ride to riches upon the labor of the yellow races. It is greed, the greed of grasping the fruits of the toil of a people over whom we may rule, not duty that calls us to take up this burden! It is only by gradual stages of evolution that a people can rise to a higher estate. If then a stronger nation assume the mastership of their fortunes, persist in treating them as a servile and inferior people incapable of advancement upon their own initiative and so supply the initiative that they are denied the opportunity to supply themselves, how can such people rise? They cannot rise, they must remain servile. Their ability to create wealth may be vastly increased, but the increased wealth that is produced will be carried off by those who supply the initiative, who direct labor to make it thus increasingly productive, namely the foreign task masters. And if the wealth is thus gathered in alien hands, if all the advances made under foreign initiative accrue to the advantage of the foreign initiators, how can the people rise? It is obviously impossible. They cannot rise if denied the opportunity to rise, they cannot make progress as a free people if kept in subjugation as a servile race.

And meanwhile what will come of their masters who drive them so as to make their labor more productive, but take to themselves the fruits of that increased productiveness? Gaining wealth by easy channels they will not feel that stimulus that leads men to use their own energies to the best advantage. As a result a turpitude, moral and physical, will overcome them, they will be disposed to exalt money more and more above man; to gain their ends by corruption rather than by honest exertion. And this is the class of men that we will be prone to raise up by our Philippine policy, this is the class of men that we will strengthen in our body politic. And surely our body politic will not be strengthened thereby. In denying Filipinos the right to form a democratic government we will sow seeds of dissolution in our own.

So as we have looked upon the culmination of events in the Philippines we have been filled with dire forebodings. It is not alone that our soldiers should be sacrificed in the Philippines at the command of the moloch of greed that causes us to weep bitter tears, tears of sorrow and wrath; it is not alone that worshippers at the shrine of greed in America and who have forced this sacrifice should go on their way rejoicing, it is that they should be just as ready to sacrifice our own people to their greed as those whom an honored statesman disrespectfully refers to as "yellow bellies," that they are quite as ready to reduce our own laboring population to humility and servility as they are the Filipinos, that they would do so if they had the power, that they seek this power in an increased standing army, that they purpose to use it when they get it, not for the protection of a free people from foreign aggression, but to deprive that people of their rights, crush their protests, chastise them if they resist the effort to reduce them to abject servility.

We bear in mind that supporters of the President warmly deny that they contemplated the laying of the foundations of a colonial system, deny that they are prompted in their policy of expansion by those possessed with a lust for gain at the expense of their fellow men, deny that they have goaded Filipinos into resistance. But when we see the statistical bureaus of the government busily engaged in showing how the colonial system of Great Britain has benefitted British trade, made markets for British goods, what deductions are we to draw? That the Administration is bending its energies to educate our people to the advantages of the colonial system and so cause public opinion to

exert itself in demanding an extension of such a system by America. Trade, foreign trade, we are after, it is the *ignus fatuus* of the day, and the way to extend such trade is to build a colonial system. So the Administration bends its energies to teach. We would suggest that the way is the building of an American customs union, not of a colonial system reaching out in Asia, for the natural markets for our surplus products are in the countries of America just as we offer the natural market for the surplus tropical products of those countries, and which we cannot produce for ourselves to any advantage. Furthermore, these American markets are broader than the markets of the Orient and vastly more capable of expansion, not indeed that the countries of the East are less rich in natural resources, but for the reason that those countries, including within themselves every clime, and even as the Americas, have the capability of supplying themselves with their own wants, and because of their teeming population and proximity the one to the other, which must give them a natural advantage over us in their own sphere, at lower cost than we can hope to supply them. Therefore, we may be assured that they will keep their markets to themselves and with their adoption of modern methods of production that is surely coming and close at hand, to an even larger extent than they have in the past. And in the past the total import trade of China has been equal to just about $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of our own domestic trade, the whole import trade of the Orient and Australasia only about one-tenth of the extent of our home trade.

But the annexation of the Philippines is urged on the ground that it would give us a point of vantage from which to grasp a greater share of this trade. And be it borne in mind that grasp is the very idea that the worshippers at the shrine of greed have in mind, for they would extend our trade at the cannon's mouth just as they would the Christian religion. We deny that either can be so extended with any profit. Trade to be lasting must be mutually advantageous, it must not sap the resources, the vitality of one of the parties to the trade. If it does, such trade must, in the end, dry up for want of very sustenance. And trade that is mutually advantageous needs no shotted guns to extend. The only trade that needs the support of cannons is the trade that amounts to robbery, that is felt to be such, resisted as such and that cannot last. Mutually profitable and hence lasting trade grows in peace—even as the Christian religion.

Still to get rich by robbing one's fellow is very tempting if one can arrange things so as not to get caught at it. And if the individual can so get rich he will not be deterred because by so doing he may ruin trade for those who may come after, undermine the welfare of his country. And if his country can be prevailed on to protect him while so undermining the general welfare, so much the better. It is only a case of government being conducted for the enrichment of the favored few, not the welfare of the many, and this is the perfection, the acme of good government according to the favored. Thus did Britain make war on China to open a way for British merchants to sell opium, a poison the importation of which was forbidden by the Imperial Government, thus did Britain sacrifice the industries of India for the benefit of the cotton lords of Lancashire, only again to sacrifice those manufacturing lords and build up rivals in India by pushing a dishonest monetary system on the world in the interests of the more powerful money lords of London.

But as we have said statistical bureaus of our government are striving to show that the colonial system is a great thing for trade. Hence we must build a colonial system. If a few thousand of Filipinos must be shot down in the process it makes no difference, we must not halt, it is manifest destiny. It is shown that Great Britain supplies only 15 per cent. of the foreign merchandise that the non-British world buys but that of the wants of her colonies and dependencies she supplies 43 per cent. Hence it is proven that colonies are a great thing for trade and in the name of trade we must gather in dependencies where we get the

chance. So we must begin by taking the Philippines. The interests of the people thereof are not considered, it is in the interest of our trade, trade expansion in those islands and the Orient generally that we must take possession.

The report that the President, great anti-colonialist according to some, is causing to be published with the money of the United States and for the edification of the American people and their conversion to the support of a colonial system go on to say that in the British dependencies "there has evidently been, through the material development which has followed this relationship a great increase in purchasing power." So the conclusion that if we annex the Philippines not only will we gain a large part of the business of supplying the markets of those islands but that those markets will greatly broaden. But here we would remark that the purchasing power of the people of British India as exerted in foreign markets and increased as it may have been by British development is less than one dollar a head a year. That is the British Indians do not purchase one dollar's worth of foreign merchandise apiece in the course of a year. The Filipinos under Spanish development made a purchasing power of foreign merchandise of a little more than a dollar a year.

So unless we do better with the Filipinos than the British have done with Indians, we cannot expect to much increase the market for foreign goods by taking those islands. The truth is that the Filipinos, like the British Indians, can make for themselves such clothing as they need much cheaper than we or Europeans can make and send it to them. With their cheap labor and dexterity they can better and more cheaply supply themselves with their wants than we can supply them. And if we introduce modern machinery and direct them in its operation the inevitable result must be that they will be able to produce cheaper than ever. Their labor will indeed become more productive but instead of making a market for our surplus goods they will be seeking a market for their surplus goods and in competition with the products of American labor in our markets. In short Americans in the Philippines and hiring Filipino labor will be making goods for sale in American markets in competition with American labor. This is the more likely outcome of our effort to spread the outlet for our goods by conquest. England has already seen Indian manufactured goods displace Lancashire in the Chinese markets; it may be our fate to see the same with Filipinos, our necessity to protect ourselves from such competition in our own markets by raising protective tariff duties against imports from the Philippines. And then suppose our Supreme Court, declaring the Philippines a part of the United States, says we can't? True the Supreme Court would have to reverse precedents to so do but the court has done stranger things. Being composed of mortal men and influenced by environment it ever has and ever will be prone to judge much as the controlling spirits of the atmosphere in which it moves would have it judge. If those spirits desired to use Filipino labor to grind down American the court would be prone to so judge as to further such use, as to overthrow any tariff barrier that Congress might raise for the protection of American labor; if they desired to keep out Filipino goods the environment of the court would dispose it to judge otherwise.

It is in this way, not through migration of Filipinos to America, that the American workman will be thrown into competition with them. The same is also largely true of the Chinese. We will, we fancy, have cause to take this to heart ere many years have passed.

Yet to extend our export trade to China and the Orient generally, we are pressed to make the Philippines a dependency of the United States. It is not a fertile ground. The whole foreign import trade of the Orient and Australasia is now about one billion of dollars and of this one-fourth is Australasian. In short, less than one per cent. of the people of that part of the world make a market for 25 per cent. of the goods sold in the East by Europe and America. By this we may judge of the

comparative demand made by white man for white-man's goods and yellow man for white-man's goods. The yellow man makes no demand comparatively and the making of a demand is not in him for he can make his own goods cheaper than white man, removed by thousands of leagues from his markets and handicapped by costs of transportation, can make them for him.

But ignoring all, we plunge forward on our career of folly. We occupy Manila, we give Filipinos to understand that we have come to stay, that with them we are going to inaugurate a colonial system, which to them means exploitation. We let them know that we regard them as an inferior race, we tell them that for their own good we propose to assume the mastership over them, direct their energies, make their labor more productive. But we purpose to take for ourselves that increased productiveness and how this is going to be for the good of Filipinos they fail to see. This is what Filipinos who first welcomed us as liberators have come to believe our occupation means. True, the protests against such a course have been loud, if unavailing, in the United States, but these protests have been as carefully kept from the ears of Filipinos as strict cable censorship could make possible. So these people of the Philippines, kept in ignorance of the sentiment in their favor in America as far as that were possible to the administration, came to the belief, as the cable censorship was imposed, that such sentiment had flickered out, that the counter sentiment was the prevailing one in America, that justice at American hands they need not expect, that they had but to choose between submission to American mastership, servility or force and as men seeking liberty, revolting at servility, with the courage to do and dare they chose force, unsheathed the sword.

And men thus showing themselves ready to die for the liberty that is their's as the inalienable birthright of man, men deserving a better fate we are not disposed to scoff and scorn. Nor can we gloat over the killing or seriously wounding of 5,000 of these men brave enough to dare and die, men sacrificed in the cause of liberty. Let us hope their sacrifice may not be in vain, let us hope that such sacrifice will strike a responsive chord in American hearts, let us not force men to choose between submission and death who have the nobleness to unfurl the battle flags of liberty and the courage to suffer death. Let us accord to them that liberty which we should never have denied.

Those who thus talk of withdrawing from the Philippines and leaving the Filipinos free to constitute a government of their own choosing are assailed as cowardly. But the coward is he who believing in the principles of free government dares not proclaim his belief, but stifling his feelings chimes in with the tide. It is of him who opposes himself to this tide, who bares himself to the taunts of traitor, who stands unflinchingly by his convictions and in opposition to our imposing our rule upon the Philippines that courage is demanded. To join in with the Administration, to trample under foot the doctrine of liberty, to scorn the traditions of our country, to overturn the very basic principles of our government, to supplant them with monarchical principles takes no courage now. Later it may, and then we will see who among the numerous pack who now cry traitor are cowards and as such be quick to desert the discredited Administration, as rats the sinking ship, who the courage to stand by the Administration and proclaim the superiority of monarchical over democratic principles? Indeed we much incline to believe that the head of the Administration will himself appear among the cowards, that the Administration will be lacking in the courage to stand by those who have the courage to stand by it.

Meanwhile we are told that vengeance must be wreaked on the Filipinos. But is this a Christian spirit? It is the old law of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth, regardless of the circumstances that led to the first loss, regardless of justice, for him who suffered the loss may have been the aggressor. Vengeance, a mere thirst for blood is a brutal passion. To us the idea of

seeking vengeance is repellant. For our part we believe our first duty lies not in avenging our losses, but in rendering justice. To spill blood for mere vengeance is murder. Again are we told that it is un-American to oppose the policy of the Administration. But wherein is it un-American to oppose a policy that is as repellant to our American notions of sound foreign policy as laid down by Washington and as slavishly copied after the British colonial policy as policy can be? Rather would we say that the Administration policy is anti-American and pro-British.

Further, to speak as we have been speaking, is to invite the charge of treason. To strive to prevent Filipinos from attacking our flag by showing that that flag waves over some at least in America who would do them justice is treason; to strive to prevent that flag from being unfurled in the Philippines as the banner of oppression is treason to the flag, the flag of liberty; to strive to keep unsullied that flag, the synonym of equality and liberty the world over, save alone in the Philippines, is treason. We scorn those who make the charge.

The blood of our soldiers in the Philippines lies at the doors of those who have denied to the Filipinos that which we should have accorded to them as a right, that which they had a right to expect at our hands. If we appear in the Philippines not to accord them their rights but to deny them the right of self-government, not to free them from oppressions, but exalt ourselves as masters and treat them as a servile race, we cannot but expect attacks on our soldiers and bloodshed, for we are there as enemies of the people, not as friends. No sophistry can hide this fact, and if we remain in the Philippines as enemies as enemies we will be treated. At the regrettable occurrence at Manila on Sunday last we have no cause to be surprised. As Senator Hale says: "If the treaty had been made as it ought to have been made, putting the Philippines on the same basis as Cuba, no trouble would have arisen, or if the managers of the treaty had consented to an amendment on this line, or, still further, if they had agreed to the passage of a joint resolution declaring Congress did not expect permanent occupation there would have been no trouble of this kind."

Again, as said Agoncillo on his flight to Canada: "It is too bad. I came to your country to offer you the friendship of my people—to give you our trade and pay you all the expenses of obtaining our freedom for us from Spain. In return you refuse to even listen to me. If you had been only willing to listen to what I have to offer, all of this trouble could have been averted. It is not of the seeking of my people. I am sorry."

Some may scoff at this. We do not. It is wrapt in too much pathos. We too, are sorry, unutterably sorry, and as an American inexpressibly mortified that it should be so.

POPULISM AND THE GOSPEL OF PEACE.

FROM the four quarters of the earth rises the wail of oppression and distress that oppression brings. Some in blind selfishness, content if they can gain comforts and luxuries and revel in pleasures regardless of the sufferings of their fellow-men, may close their ears and steel their hearts against it; we hear it as an ominous roar, the swelling roar of an outraged humanity oft denied the right to labor, oft deprived of the enjoyment of the fruits of toil and seeking, somewhat aimlessly, but earnestly, insistently for justice, relief. Men are denied an equality of opportunity, they are obliged to toil for those enjoying special privileges and for a recompense barely sufficient to keep body and soul together, insufficient to enable them to accumulate wealth and rise to a higher state. And if perchance sickness overtakes them, they become decrepid as a working machine or be thrown out of work, they and their families are prone to suffer infinitely.

The despoilment of the many by the few was never so systematized and effective as it is to-day. True, labor is more productive than ever before, a livelihood should be easier gained, men should live better, their material and intellectual lot should be vastly and steadily raised, raised just as improved machinery, as greater knowledge applied to the direction of industry makes their labor more productive. But this increased productiveness of labor goes to the enjoyers of special privileges, goes to enrich the favored few. Thus do contrasts between riches and poverty grow, thus does unrest increase, thus is poverty by very comparison made harder and harder to bear.

The investor is robbed of his savings, the wage earner is made to pay tribute to the trusts that the railroads build. The sacredness of contracts is artfully broken by changes in the value of money engineered by the money cliques, of course in their interest and to the detriment of those who toil. Taxes are levied so that the burdens fall largely on the poor so that the rich escape, so that the poor pay many times the taxes in proportion to their earnings as the rich.

Thus are those who toil put under tribute for the support of a favored few, thus do men gather riches by preying on the fruits of others' toil. And where there is robbery by the strong of the weak, of the poor by the rich, there cannot, even though such robbery be under the forms of law, be peace on earth and good will to men.

Men do not practice the gospel of peace and failing to so practice the world is drifting to a social revolution that will right the wrongs of the oppressed. This social revolution it is the aim of populism to control that it may not end in blood, that it may be a revolution for the rendering of justice not the wreaking of vengeance. Populism recognizes the causes of the wail going up to heaven from suffering humanity, it makes its bounden duty the removal of those causes, those causes for strife and bloodshed on earth; it demands that justice be accorded to all, it preaches the Gospel of Peace. If men profit not from its teachings, if its warnings are not heeded, there will come in blood the revolution that ought to come in peace. The way to avoid dire strife is to freely accord to all men justice, to protect them in their rights, to insure to them an equality of opportunity in the production of wealth, and free enjoyment of the wealth they produce, assure to them the right to work, remove the causes that give them just ground for complaint. To effect this is the mission of the Peoples party. In that mission it cannot succeed without organization; the way to spread the Gospel of Peace is therefore through organization.

So in the name of downtrodden humanity, in the interest of justice to all, even the people's oppressors, to prevent a revolution that will excite men's passions, stop not with the rectification of wrongs, not with the doing of justice, but end in an indiscriminate wreaking of vengeance we call upon Populists to organize. Moved by the same thoughts, the same forebodings, the same hopes, Milton Park, Chairman of the National Committee of the Peoples party, and in the Southern *Mercury* of last week, calls for organization. His eloquent appeal and also the touching and powerful argument of Mr. W. A. Gasche in favor of the single tax and incorporated therein we cannot do better than cite at length. Let all lovers of liberty, let all men who believe that men are born with certain inalienable rights and that the foremost among these are life, which means work, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, read and take heed. Let Chairman Park follow it up by an official call, pointing out the way for Populists to go effectively about the organization that he calls upon them to make. Upon him we call to point the way, not only urge others to go forward, but himself lead the way.

Organization the Need of the Hour.

The *Mercury* advises an immediate getting together of the Populists of the state and nation. Already the Populists of other

states are moving in the direction of a re-organization of the Populist voters. A convention to this end will be held at Indianapolis, Ind., on the 22d of this month.

And why does the *Mercury* urge an immediate reorganization of our forces?

Do the exigencies of the political situation demand it? Do the conditions of the masses justify it?

That is the question which the Populists of the state and nation must settle for themselves. All the *Mercury* can do is to advise them. If its suggestions meet with their favor; well and good.

The year 1898 was a bounteous one. An abundance of everything that goes to make life prosperous and the masses contented was produced by us. Providence was never more generous or kind to a people. Then why so much suffering in the midst of such great plenty?

Why do the few enjoy where they reap not, while the many who reap starve?

Has not nature been lavish with her gifts? Has she not strewn the pathway of our existence with untold natural resources, which, compared to our wants are sufficient to support in affluence many times the present population of this globe?

If this is true, then why is this bounteous mother of ours compelled to listen to the wail of want that rises from the lips of millions of her starving and oppressed children?

Why are the few only privileged to suckle, at the breasts of nature, milk that is produced by all the children of men?

Why?—Simply because the rule of right has been superceded by the rule of wrong; because the rule of justice has been superceded by the rule of injustice; and it is the mission of the Peoples party to right this wrong; to do justice to the masses; to abrogate all bad and inequitable laws; to place the government on that safe foundation of "equal rights to all and special privileges to none," where our fathers placed it a century ago, and from which it has been dragged by the selfish power and greed of incorporated wealth.

This is why the *Mercury* asks the Populists of this state and nation to organize; this is the reason why the Peoples party must continue to exist until the rule of right shall prevail in all branches of government, and justice is made the ruling motive in all human affairs. Until this has been accomplished, the Peoples party will continue to exist and be a living entity and factor in our affairs. Until our every hope has been fulfilled and our efforts crowned with victory, it will not die.

To revive hope in the hearts of its followers, to inspire the Populist hosts with renewed energy and new effort in the work of reform, the *Mercury* takes great pleasure in reproducing the following from an address recently delivered by Bro. W. B. Gasche, of Hartford, Kansas, before the Kansas State Farmers' Alliance, in session at Topeka:

The Land Question.

"Does abundance of natural resources and inventive genius, both of divine origin, and evidently intended to lighten toil really render the means of existence more certain and enjoyment greater? Nay! Must we not admit that the contrary is true—that the means of securing a livelihood are becoming more and more uncertain, and that misery to the masses intensifies?

"Let us write it down for future generations to read, that our boasted civilization has, so far as the greatest good to the greatest number is concerned, perverted the two greatest of divine blessings—abundance and human genius.

"Let them know that we have locked up the natural resources under a vicious system of land ownership, so that millions of human beings of every generation are born alien to the earth, to live and die without a foot of ground that they can call their own; and that we have made human discoveries a scourge to drive human beings from employment into destitution, there to beg, steal and starve.

"The question as to the existence of these conditions is not open to discussion—they are positive facts, patent to every observer. Are the conditions normal or natural? Most certainly not, because the normal outcome of abundant resources and abundant means for their development would be an abundance of products for satisfying the wants of the producer.

"What then is the cause? Can we think for a moment even that the large majority of the human race prefer to toil in poverty, while only a small minority enjoy luxury and idleness? No, no! Not so, for all clamor for liberty and equality, equality of rights, that greatest of all equalities. What, then, is this equality of rights and how can it most easily be secured?

"Learned men are each year framing political platforms upon which state or national campaigns are to be made, and all claim to be working in the interest of the people.

"Examine these platforms carefully, and usually we find that they are made for the same purpose as are the platforms on passenger coaches—to enable people to get in. There occurs one exception, at least so far as one plank is concerned—'The land is the heritage of the people and should not be held for speculative purposes.' I would not be true to myself if I did not say that in my humble opinion there is more in that one short sentence than there is in all the rest of that platform and those of the other parties thrown in.

"Monetary reform, however sorely needed, will not bring the full and lasting relief which this country needs. It may lead to increased production of wealth, but it will not bring the economic conditions necessary to the equitable distribution of wealth. It will bring increased prices for farm products, but at the same time it will greatly enhance the value of the land, and by so doing, place the land still farther beyond the reach of labor. Land values have already gotten out of the reach of the laboring man.

"Population is ever growing, and so long as population grows so long will land values grow. The faster population grows the faster land values grow. The child that is born to-day of landless parents will find it much harder to obtain than did the child born a hundred years ago. What will it be a hundred years hence?

"Land cannot grow, except in value, the land itself remains fixed in earth. There is no more of it now than when the world first commenced revolving in space.

"But the morrow always brings increased population, and as population encroaches upon the land supply, more and more the tenant class increases, and as the tenant class increases, competition for the use of land increases, the rent for the use of land increases—every child that is born puts money in the pocket of the landlord.

"We say in our meetings that all wealth is produced by labor applied to land. Unnumbered thousands of acres are held out of use. Must this condition remain indefinitely? Must the sons and daughters of the honest toilers of our fair land, for all future generations, become the servants of the more favored classes?

"Brethren, look into this land question, for be assured that when settled on right lines, it will forever solve the question of equitable distribution of wealth and equality among men.

"The aggregate wealth of the nation is constantly increasing, notwithstanding the prevalence of the gold standard. All the aggregate wealth of the country will continue to increase, however small the compensation labor is permitted to receive. Reduce it to a bare living, compel it to serve in rags and filth, and it will still produce wealth rather than starve. The rags and filth will cast no shadow on the beautiful and artistic creations of industry, even though they come from the hovels of poverty to minister to the taste and comfort of those who 'neither toil nor spin.' The structures of wealth must still rise, even if the prostrate and tortured form of labor lies beneath its gilded foundation. But it is not that the world grows more wealthy as the years pass, which gives to labor its cause for complaint—it is the fact, rather, that under present conditions, labor can have only such portion of that which it creates as will suffice to keep it forever dependent and enslaved. It must sit beneath the table of those who rob it, to pick up the crumbs, and have the sores of its body licked by the dogs. There is wealth enough to spare, but it goes to the pampered few. Let us not forget that the millions of toilers are in more pressing need of a remedy that shall prevent the unjust concentration of wealth than they are of one which can only insure increased production of wealth.

"How can we best help these people? By giving them their natural rights. Take the full unearned increment of land in the way of taxation for the benefit of all the people, thus destroying the incentive to hold land out of use. Then the land speculator will be ready and anxious to have the land used, for it becomes only a burden to him. The tables will then be turned, and instead of the intense demand of land to farm, there will be a demand for farmers for land, a demand for lumbermen for timberland, a demand for miners for mineral land—the lead and silver and gold mines—would call for brawn to bring their hidden wealth to the light of day. Let this once happen and the glut of the 'labor market' is relieved. Instead of labor leaving the country and going to town to find employment, the reverse would be true. Take the surplus laborers away from the cities and manufacturing centers, and wages for what remained would rise—for

only a given amount of labor will be used, no matter if there be half a dozen applicants for each place. Let five of them leave and the remaining one can then force his employer to pay him living wages. His better pay will enable him to purchase more things to satisfy the wants of himself and family. When he purchases these things the farmer will be the seller, and be benefited in turn.

"No one will be wronged and no one will suffer, except the one who has lost his privilege of robbing his fellow man.

"Thus can conditions be so changed that labor may live in contentment and peace, reaping where it sows, and dwelling beneath its own self provided shelter in the full enjoyment of the sweets of independence."

A Call and a Warning.

Brother Gasche, in the foregoing, tells us how far land reform will go toward solving the present industrial evils. We all know how injurious to the well being of the nation is the rule of the trusts, and that the trust which fattens all other trusts, is the money trust.

Rockefeller makes \$3,000,000 in one day on one transaction on Wall street. To do so, he mortgages in advance the labor of 3,000,000 men for one day. Three millions of men must work one day for nothing that Rockefeller may be the gainer thereby by \$3,000,000. And whence is Mr. Rockefeller's power to do this derived? Through the ownership of a natural monopoly; and it is the mission of the People's party to undermine Mr. Rockefeller's power of extortion by destroying his monopoly.

Is the game worth the effort? If you believe it is, you will proceed at once to organize your forces for the coming great struggle.

On the outcome of that struggle depends the future of the race.

The signs are multiplying that it will be a struggle to death. The rule of a despotism is as relentless as it is ruthless and unscrupulous, and the foe we must meet is a despotism of privileged wealth.

Nor will the struggle be confined to one section of the country alone. From the four quarters of the earth come the rumblings of discontent. Nearer and nearer they come, and mingled with the sound is heard the heavy tramp, tramp of the army of the oppressed on its way to storm the citadel of wealth.

But many of that army will fall before the fire of the enemy ere it reaches its goal, while the rest will march over the bodies of the hirelings of wealth to plant again the banner of liberty on the battlements of the oppressor.

It is ever thus with revolutions; and wealth and privilege were ever blind to logic and reason.

If the greater danger which threatens the peace of the world can be overturned and the struggle made a bloodless one, the *Mercury* will hail the change with delight, and its prayer will be: So be it.

But there is a limit in the endurance of great governmental abuses as there is to the power of oppression when pitted against the strength of an outraged people.

Let the watchword be Onward! And let it repeat from post to post, until the cry has circled the earth, and peace—peace for the masses—has once more been declared at Warsaw.

Florida.—Personally-Conducted Tour via Pennsylvania Railroad.

The Pennsylvania Railroad Company's third tour of the present season to Jacksonville, allowing two weeks in Florida, will leave New York and Philadelphia by special train of Pullman Palace Cars, Tuesday, February 21st. Excursion tickets, including railway transportation, Pullman accommodations (one birth), and meals *en route* in both directions while traveling on the special train, will be sold at the following rates: New York, \$50.00; Philadelphia, \$48.00; Canandaigua, \$52.85; Erie, \$54.85; Wilkesbarre, \$50.35; Pittsburg, \$53.00; and at proportionate rates from other points.

For tickets, itineraries, and full information apply to ticket agents; Tourist Agent, 1196 Broadway, New York; 789 Broad street, Newark, N. J.; or address Geo. W. Boyd, Assistant General Passenger Agent, Broad Street Station, Philadelphia.—*Adv.*

See THE AMERICAN's special clubs. They have been arranged specially to save you money and trouble.

BOOK REVIEWS.

Expansion as Expounded by an Expansionist.

The Imperial Republic. By JAMES C. FERNALD. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Co. 75 cents.

By those who believe in "imperialism" this book will doubtless be read with interest, satisfaction and enthusiastic approval. On the other hand, it will scarcely convert many of those who have not been carried away by the glorious future which expansionists promise as a result of their policy. While this book is from cover to cover an eloquent argument in behalf of expansion, it is in fact a very superficial work, although from the great array of figures, quotations and plausible reasoning it appears at first sight to be an exhaustive and careful presentation of the question. In a word, we think Mr. Fernald has not made a strong case, even from his side.

Launching at once into his subject he demolishes the spectre of imperialism at a blow, recalls to mind how from a seaboard confederacy the United States spread out across a great continent, solidifying into a powerful empire as it grew in area and wealth. All this is to demonstrate how totally mistaken were those who in the past opposed the westward extension of our boundaries, because of grave dangers they believed would threaten our national life and well being as a result. As the lawyer searches for a precedent upon which to rest his case, so does the author advance this as proof that our national policy has been one of continued expansion, and as conclusive evidence of the shortsightedness and unreasonable timidity of those who now oppose the acquisition of far off dependencies. But let us consider a little closer the much vaunted imperial policy of territorial and trade expansion as herein expounded.

A vast foreign trade we must have; this entails a powerful protecting navy, which in turn demands "coaling stations at the ends of the earth," and as "the maintenance of the mere coaling station" is a burdensome expense, let us own groups of rich islands so that the "public revenue to be derived" and the "private gains that will be secured by our citizens" shall reimburse us individually and as a people for the costs which must be incurred. This is the position our author takes, this the course he would have the American people pursue. "Expediency, necessity and duty," we are told, are the considerations, and in this order of importance that impel us to expansion. "Commerce, that great agency of national wealth, vigor and power" must be extended, and as we turn page by page of this book we see clearly the kind of trade the author has in mind. True, he tells us that the best policy to pursue with regard to our "dependencies" is one that will "make them rich and prosperous," and elsewhere that "the life of a nation is in the great host of its common people. * * * If it is well with this vast throng the nation is prosperous." All this is solid ground, but when our author turns to consider trade he sees through other glasses.

Within certain limits it is of course possible to force a weaker party to trade even as great Britain forced the Chinese, at the cannon's mouth, to buy opium. But it is axiomatic that trade, to be lasting and valuable, must be mutually profitable and advantageous, which happens when each party produces something the other wants but cannot or does not so well produce. Therefore, it follows that the natural course of trade is north and south rather than east and west, for in this direction lies the greatest diversity of climate and hence difference in products. Mr. Fernald sees even in Siberia a vast market, and quotes a Mr. Bookwalter as to the wonderful development that has taken place there. Here let it be remarked that all this has been accomplished, and now goes forward so exclusively by internal enterprise that the great majority of people have been entirely unaware of the fact, indeed continue to look upon Siberia as a waste inhabited only by some hundreds of half starved, half frozen political exiles.

But it is when turning to China that "the mind is overwhelmed with the vastness of the theme." Here Mr. Fernald sees a population of 400,000,000 all presumably waiting to buy goods. True, they have within their own borders all that a bountiful nature bestows, everything that is required to provide the most varied of human necessities and luxuries, yet they are not to produce these things for themselves but to buy them from America and Great Britain. So Mr. Fernald expects, and the prospect is so enticing that he "can not believe with Mr. Bookwalter (previously introduced as "a highly competent

observer") that 'whatever we may now sell to them the Chinese will soon be able to make for themselves.'"

The spirit of commercialism regards neither right nor justice, but worshipping the dollar above all else, it would ride rough-shod over any obstacle in its way. Just here let our learned author speak: "If England shall * * * appropriate any portion of Chinese territory, it will probably be only because of supposed commercial necessity, to keep formidable rivals from seizing the same territory in advance, and closing it to English trade." Does expansion contemplate such methods to secure and hold trade? Is America also to become a harpy preying upon the weak and helpless? So it would seem. No wonder Mr. Fernald, ardent advocate of this much vaunted imperial policy, urges the vital necessity of an immense navy. Verily will it be needed if might not right is to be our guide. Yet almost in the same breath we are told that American influence will be mighty in uplifting and Christianizing the suffering heathen. We are given a detailed plan of how our colonial possessions shall be governed; we are told what kind of man is needed to head the new department, and of the fame he will win in administering it.

We regret to say it is not always safe to rely upon the accuracy of this book, and here and there a passage occurs that is quite unique. It is impossible to suppress a smile when we read of the magic "touch of American civilization" in our great west "turning * * * the people into prosperous, law-abiding American citizens." What a mighty people, indeed, have the poor Indians become! And then, to show what may be expected of the Filipinos when once they have come under our complete dominion and felt the full uplifting stimulus of American influence, the author points with unconcealed pride to the growth of the foreign trade of India under the fostering hand of Britain, and quotes statistics to the effect that for the fiscal year 1896-'97, it reached \$990,550,000 worth, allowing, however, the inference that this represented imports. But the fact is Indian imports in that year came to only \$263,469,143, her entire foreign trade, imports and exports together, amounting to but \$600,873,725. However, this little difference of a few hundred millions, more or less, may after all scarcely equal the difference between that vast trade our author, with many others, sees opening to us in the East and what this trade shall actually prove to be. The cover design of this volume—a giantess with drawn sword and uplifted buckler—is exceedingly appropriate, well exemplifying the imperial policy it champions.

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A Study of Primitive Faith.

Creation Myths of Primitive America, in relation to the Religious History and Mental Development of Mankind. BY JEREMIAH CURTIN. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. \$2.50.

To Jeremiah Curtin, the lover of the true and noble in the realm of romance owes a debt of gratitude that can hardly be measured. But for him the English speaking peoples might never have known of the work of that greatest of modern writers of fiction, Henryk Sienkiewicz. In giving this to them Mr. Curtin has been more than the mere translator. A student himself, he has been able to convey and portray in most exquisite language the real meaning, the poetry, the color and life, the nobility of sentiment, and with it all that wonderful power of vivid description that has made the name of Sienkiewicz a household word. If Mr. Curtin had done nothing more than make the one translation of "Quo Vadis," he would not have lived in vain. But he has done more. To the ordinary student this work alone would have required the undivided and uninterrupted attention. Not so with Mr. Curtin. We find that while he was making his great translation he was also collecting the data for the present book and in fact writing of Indian myths for the *New York Sun*. The ability to do all this while traveling through such a country as Central America stamps him as a man of splendid and enduring vitality, of force, and with it all a tireless worker. We, here in matter of fact America, can hardly realize or appreciate the difficulties that must have beset the author in reducing great masses of crude material to the present readable and invaluable work. It is not like the work of the ordinary historian who can, if he choose, cull from a predecessor and carry on his study and research in some comfortable and convenient library. When it is remembered that the field covered by the present book is an absolutely new one, that the myths here presented have never before appeared in book form, that they were known only in the tongues of many Indian tribes and they had to be translated from oral conversations, we can appreciate in a

small way the magnitude of the work. Outside of Major Powell, of the Smithsonian Institution and Director of the Bureau of Ethnology at Washington, there is not another man in this country, save Mr. Curtin himself, fitted for this work. Already this tireless student has given to the world the benefits of his research in other countries on the same lines as here dealt with. His works on myths and folk-lore in Ireland, Russia and other countries have brought him the unqualified and deserved endorsement of the highest authorities here and abroad.

These myths are told in the simple language in which fairy tales should appear, and this very simplicity, together with Mr. Curtin's well established reputation as a linguist, is a guarantee of the accuracy with which they were taken down. The present work is made up from what are known as the Wintu and Yana myths, and the surprising number and variety obtained from a few tribes shows clearly what a wide field yet remains for the patient investigator. It is our earnest hope that the work here so splendidly begun will be carried on until all Indian myths have been collected and classified.

We learn that "the creation myths of America form a complete system; they give a detailed and circumstantial account of the origin of this world and of all things and creatures contained in it" as seen through Indian eyes. The belief of the primitive men, a belief that remains unshaken to-day, of the transformation of the first people and of things is remarkable in that it shows the growth of these several myths along identical lines. These myths are not separate and unconnected. You cannot read one and then find it disputed in any other. All fit into one another with absolute perfection, and our surprise can only be measured by our interest. The idea of transformation was that the object would become outwardly and visibly that which it had been internally and secretly. Let the reader not misunderstand the meaning of the "first people." Many of them represented such things as the sun, the moon, light, fire, in fact everything that the primitive mind would naturally think of. For instance one of the most interesting tales is the first war in the world waged between gods, not men; another describes the creation as seen through Indian mythical eyes, yet another the idea of immortality of the soul, and so on.

The lives of the "first people" are the models from which the faithful Indian shapes his life. They are his religion, his God, and as Mr. Curtin writes, "there was not on this continent one institution, observance, right or custom, which was not God-given theoretically. The Indians of America always acted in a prescribed manner on a given occasion, because the gods of the world which preceded this had acted in the same manner." No people has ever shown a more divine trust in the infinite than the ancestors of, and the Indian of our day. His child-like faith in his beliefs is as beautiful as it is simple. Would we had it in our own Christianity! The Indian never doubts, never questions, he knows or thinks so, and that amounts to about the same thing, for we are taught by the Most High that by your faith you shall be saved. History has no record to show that any Wintu has ever been converted to Christianity. The faith of that nation therefore remains as of yore, undimmed and unshaken. To proceed, Mr. Curtin tells us, "the Indian system has its plain and clear revelation; for believers it has tangible and undoubted connection with the world which preceded the present one. For the Indian this is all satisfactory. He has a system that is perfect, a system delivered by divinities." Of course our author is not a believer in these Indian myths, but he does maintain that "in presenting the system from the purely formal side we are dealing with simple facts, which we collect and range in order. Once we possess these ordered facts we have the externals of everything Indian—not only religion, but medicine, politics, social life." If we are to make an intelligent study of the true native Americans and their customs we must, therefore, first acquaint ourselves with their myth system, for from this spring flows all things.

It is to be remarked that in America alone have we a myth system that is unpolled and perfect, one into which no outside and corrupting influence has crept. Over the whole wide expanse of our hemisphere we find the same system of primitive philosophy. There is not another part of the world of which this can be said. The myths of Europe and Asia, though once free and separate, have been lost to us; history took no account of them and to-day he who looks for truth must study of and from the American system to get at the true beginning of things. As he understood it, the primitive American had always before him in the full and unshaded light the presence of his divinity. Mr. Curtin demonstrates in a way that cannot be questioned that the American myths precede by perhaps many hundreds of years the

earliest history of Egypt and what we choose to call the old world. His work shows that the priestly gods of Egypt answered exactly to the Indian divinities of what he terms the second class of American myths. The similarity between the myths of Egypt, Arabia, etc. and America is most pronounced. That the same system should grow up in all parts of the world, apparently without any connection, is almost past belief. To the uneducated, the myths of one country would not appear differently from those of another, which only goes to show that the world was working out its own salvation or destruction on certain given lines. One point we had almost overlooked is that of the Indian belief that every thing on earth, save man, is divine. We poor creatures are accustomed to place ourselves on the top of the heap and strut around in conscious vanity, but here we learn that we are not as important as a mere stone.

Mr. Curtin concludes his introduction, would that it had been longer, in the following thoughtful and glowing style: "Through amazing ability of primitive man on this continent to retain, or perhaps through his inability to change or go forward, he has preserved a system of thought already old at the time of the first cuneiform letters and of the earliest statements on stone or papyrus. And the discovery of this system of ours coincides almost with the moment when America, after a century and a quarter of free political activity and of intellectual labor unexampled in fruitfulness, takes her due place as a World Power and enters into intimate and searching relations, not with Europe alone or one section of mankind, but with the whole human race wherever fixed or resident."

Candor forces us to remark, in closing, that we predict the general reader will find these myths rather dry and heavy. One or two of the best should be read by everyone laying claim to a general education, and the introduction itself is well worth the price of the book. The publishers have done their work with great care, the paper is good, firm and white, the ink black and the printing clear. There is also a well executed frontispiece. When all has been said it is a book for any library.

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An Illustrated Popular Bird Book.

Birds that Hunt and are Hunted. By NELLIE BLANCHAN. New York: Doubleday & McClure Co. \$2.

It has been with much pleasure and satisfaction that we have read this book, the more so in that it has most agreeably surprised us. Over "Bird Neighbors," which came into our hands about a year since and to which this is a companion volume, we could not get up much enthusiasm,—although it met with very decided public approval as evidenced by a sale of some twenty thousand copies—indeed, we could find little of merit about it except the colored plates, and as for the text we must confess that our opinion, then stated, has not changed. The book bore evidence of being the work of a novice in ornithology, and as such was not the safe popular guide it aimed to be. But a critical examination of the present volume shows it to be a vast improvement on its older brother, in fact it fully deserves, as it will doubtless receive, a most cordial welcome. It is evident that the author, whose real name is Mrs. Nellie Blanchan Doubleday, has devoted herself assiduously during the past year to a careful study of birds both in the field and library, with the result that she has equipped herself remarkably well for the task involved in the preparation of this book, which bears evidence of care, knowledge of the subject, and a good appreciation of bird-life in its many and diverse bearings. The author has our sincere congratulations, for this book makes a useful, enjoyable and important addition to current ornithological literature.

It is with no desire to pick flaws, but rather to offer a friendly helping hand that we call attention to one or two points that need revision. Our Wood Duck has a "counterpart" in the Chinese Mandarin Duck, these two remarkably colored and extremely beautiful birds belonging to the same genus of which they are the only species. Geese are not "altogether" vegetarian in their diet, as the author knows, and she will doubtless be glad to learn that the death song of the dying swan is not merely the poet's fancy. Dr. D. G. Elliott and others have heard the sweet but pathetic dirge. Upon more intimate acquaintance she will also find that the Night Heron sees sufficiently well by day, and that the little Green Heron, despite the unmentionable and vulgar nicknames with which it is constantly assailed, is not always shy. However, these and some other points at which the bird student will be apt to stop are quite unimportant and equally immaterial so far as the generality of readers is concerned. Throughout the book there is an earnest

plea for protection to our birds and a protest against the feather fashion which causes such great inroads upon their numbers. The plan of this book is very different from that adopted in "Bird Neighbors." There the color classification, lately so much in vogue, was followed, here the birds are kept together and in their proper scientific order. The author has selected one hundred and seventy of the more common or noteworthy species indigenous to the United States, giving of each an interesting biography, preceded by a description of coloring, etc., in all of which scientific phraseology is very largely dispensed with.

But what takes the eye and will consequently prove the most attractive feature of this book are the full page colored plates, forty-nine in number. A very few years since these plates could not have been given at the price they are now offered, in fact the process of color photography by which they are produced was unknown. The exceptionally beautiful and life-like illustrations obtained by it, in which form and coloring are both reproduced with a fidelity and delicacy that is remarkable, are indeed works of art. The development of this process has been rapid and successful, but it still lacks that perfection to which it will doubtless be carried in the near future. At present the best results are obtained where the subject is nearly flat; when a background is added the tendency is to blur, due to the impossibility of focusing the camera precisely on objective points at varying distances. The series of plates in the book before us well illustrate this. The sharpest lines and clearest, best coloring are seen where the bird has been taken against a uniform background, as, for instance, the portrait of the Bob White, upon which it would be hard to improve. Of course, showing a bird in its natural environment gives additional life to the portrait, but at the same time the blurred effect is very objectionable. Contrast the plates of the Wood Duck and the Green-winged Teal. Both portraits are exquisite, but whereas in the latter plate the ensemble is perfect, in the former the artistic beauty is sadly marred by an utterly useless background. In the plates figuring the Passenger Pigeon and the Sparrow Hawk we see before us the living birds and can overlook the settings. In three or four others the difficulty in bringing out both bird and landscape has been successfully overcome, with a result that is highly satisfactory. Taken all in all the plates contained in this book make a very fine series. The birds appear in natural attitudes, in fact look themselves. In some cases, however, the coloring is not good, in three or four very bad. No one would recognize the Carolina Dove, and the Screech Owl will set ornithologists to wondering how many plumage phases it really has.

The publishers of this book, Doubleday & McClure Co., New York, wish it to be understood that they will send on approval, at their expense, this or any other book published by them. Those requesting books sent in this way may return them to the publishers, if, upon examination, they conclude not to buy them.

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Latin as a Basis for Education.

A Short Latin Grammar. By ALBERT HARKNESS. New York: American Book Co. 80 cents.

A Complete Latin Grammar. By ALBERT HARKNESS. Same publishers. \$1.25.

In this country too, it becomes more and more a matter of profound conviction that the value of classical languages, and especially Latin, is consistent with true scholarship. We appreciate them to be the instrument of education and the foundation of much valuable knowledge. Whether Latin in itself, as a study, will result and prove to be useful in a direct sense within the later life of an individual is, indeed, questionable; but, undeniable remains the fact that the study of Latin aids, equips and cultures one for every other branch of knowledge, and especially so for the study of modern languages. The demand for Spanish is at present phenomenal, and the best students in this language are those who have had preliminary instruction in Latin. The same is true of French, the ever interesting language of the courts and society, and of Italian, the sweet language of music.

Although many books have been written on Latin, for Latin, in Latin and by Latins, all, good and poor ones alike, have found buyers among teachers as well as scholars, and still the demand for books is greater than the supply. Professor Harkness' two Latin grammars will, therefore, we venture to say, be highly welcome because they seem so excellently well adapted to comply with modern requirements and necessities of popular need. The short Latin grammar is arranged to meet the wants of those who do not contemplate a collegiate course. This, indeed, seems to be exactly the book needed. Written plainly and in the most comprehensible style and language it enables the

student to take up the study by himself, if necessary. At the same time it is an excellent text-book for elementary purposes for every class and grade, and with its useful appendix, index of verbs and general index is admirably adapted for students of all kinds, degrees, ages and grades of education.

The second book is more complete and therefore more thorough. It contains more in quantity as well as in quality. The author calls it "the result of lifelong labors in the field of grammatical study." And this is exactly what it is. Those who personally or by reputation know Professor Albert Harkness, of Brown University, will easily comprehend what kind of book he would send out to the world. This is not only a text-book for general study, but a book of reference for teacher as well as scholar. It presents clearly a systematic arrangement of rules and laws of the Latin language for all degrees of study. And yet, syntax too, has received his careful attention. What is considered the most difficult problem to students, "the subjunctive," is treated in the most simple manner with practical explanations, and in the same way has every intricate subject been clearly explained with sufficient examples.

Professor Harkness' earnestness for his book is clearly demonstrated by the fact that he had as co-workers the most prominent pedagogues of Latin from the various German Universities, men like Professor F. Stolz, of the University of Innsbruck; Professor G. Landgraf, of Munich; Professor H. Blase, of Giessen, all of whom are eminent Latinists who are engaged in the preparation of the "Historische Grammatik der Lateinischen Sprache."

BRIEFER NOTICES.

American Indians. By FREDERICK STARR. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. 45 cents.

It is easy, yes, natural, to feel sympathy for a disappearing race, particularly when remorse cannot restore to it that which we have appropriated to our own use. We have heard much of the noble red man, of the injustice he has suffered, and in all conscience we can pity him in his present sad state. But what would you? And after all, is his fate in the least surprising? We think not. With no purpose or desire to excuse the acts and methods of the white man in his intercourse with the Indian, we yet hold that the outcome is entirely in conformity with nature's great law, the survival of the fittest. It is hard for those who fall by the wayside but who will say that the world and humanity are not the gainers by the displacement of the Indian by the Caucasian? Still it makes a sad story, and Mr. Starr's recital of it does not make it any brighter. His book, prepared especially for younger people, is a careful, interesting history of the chief tribes of North American Indians, their peculiarities and ways of life. The picture he draws is good and highly instructive, if perhaps a little too brightly colored. There are two maps and a number of illustrations which aid in conveying a clear understanding.

Writing of the noted Mound-Builders, who we were taught in our younger days to look upon as a highly civilized people which disappeared before the advent of the Indian, the author gives some of the evidence which goes to disprove the old theory, and says: "So neither the mounds, the relics nor the remains prove that there was one people, the 'Mound-Builders,' but rather that the mounds were built by many different tribes. These tribes were not of civilized, but of barbarous, Stone Age men. It is likely that some of the tribes that built the mounds still live in the United States." However, there are many, among them Dr. Joseph Le Conte, who yet incline to the belief that the Mound-Builders were a "different race from the hunter tribes of Indians, and more advanced."

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Alicia, a tale of the American Navy. By ALEXIS. New York: Bonnell, Silver & Co. \$1.50.

The author of the present book is either ashamed of himself and work, or else he must be one of those individuals posing as society solons who dare not write of society and its ways under a real name for fear of what this same society might do to his precious social position. If our first conclusion be correct we can have some respect and much pity, but if our writer comes under the second category there is room for nothing save contempt. "Alicia" has been written with the evident and laudable intention of pointing out the many pitfalls that beset the path of the uninitiated in the sea of social life. If Alexis could have contented himself with simply pointing out, it would have been well, but this self-satisfied man needs must put his reader in the position of student seeking knowledge at his knees. Few readers will be

able to agree with and follow this teacher-author in his wanderings. Some of the statements here made are truly remarkable and the views of life and human nature are such as seldom appear in print. When we read that wisdom can guide the love of man and woman, that our greatest passion can be ruled and measured by a given formula we are tempted to express ourselves ineluctably by crying out "rot," a word for which Alexis seems to have a particular fondness. The diction of this book is quite unique and altogether odd. The sentences are short and sharp like the stroke of a hammer and at times give more real meaning than is often found in a whole chapter. Whatever else may be said the author is not a copyist. The condemnation of the system of advancement in the United States Navy is timely and of real worth. This is the best part of the book and was put in to make some connection between title and the story itself.

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Some People Unknown. By E. W. HORNUNG. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.25.

This book we understand is a first and virgin departure into the realms of the short story. What is more to the point, it is a genuine success. The previous work of Mr. Hornung while strong in parts was on the whole rather heavy and too deep for satisfactory reading. The present volume is made up of some dozen tales, the peer of the lot in our opinion being "The Voice of Gunbar." One or two of the others would have made the book stronger and better by their absence, but then we cannot expect to have all attain the standard of the best. The strong point of these stories is the bold and masterful touch of the author in portraying the sad and sorrowful. He writes as one who has personally lived through and suffered some deep and unforgettable loss. Between the lines, if the reader choose, he may detect the flowing tears and behold the anguish of intense mental pain. Give the imagination full play and we get at the true beauty and real strength of the work and will recognize in the unwritten the real story. These sketches without exception deal with the pathetic and touch the running sores of mind and heart. In some the ending is clouded in gloom and then in others we can see the glory of a beautiful sunset.

Of all that is glorious and ennobling in life we question if there can be any one thing approaching nearer the divine than a quiet and peaceful ending to a life of storm. At that last hour, after the successes and failures of a life time, as a man stands face to face with the great unknown, he will stop long enough to review his work, and then if he be contented with himself and has a quiet conscience, he is indeed blessed. Read these little stories carefully and you will find therein a sad but beautiful lesson, and one that it would be well to take to heart.

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Orations of Lysias. Edited by WILLIAM H. WAIT. New York: American Book Co. \$1.25.

Oratory always has been and always will be a sweet luxury for the minds of those who listen to it. To hear an orator, especially if his gift can be termed "great" is a treat so fascinating and all-absorbing, that not few have considered oratory to be equal to the highest kind of art. The genuine oratory stood very high before the modern progress of the world was even dreamt of. It had its grand days of bloom, and, it seems, that with modern civilization that great oratory of old has seen its decline. The period of Demosthenes, Cicero, and Lysias exists no more—their words, however, live and still inspire our ear and heart to an extent that may well make modern orators blush. While great monuments of art and manual skill of all sorts have vanished and are long forgotten, the wonderful orations of the great classical orators are preserved and still enjoyed, up to the present day.

It is to be appreciated that some universities and colleges still maintain their high standard by offering to their students a thorough course in ancient literature—Latin or Greek. This has induced Professor William H. Wait, of the University of Michigan, to select ten of the most celebrated orations of Lysias and prepare them for the advanced Greek course. They have been given in the manuscript order; some of them are still considered to rank among the greatest masterpieces for their peculiar qualities, variety and interest. Each oration is preceded by an English description, giving in detail the character, circumstance and value of the Greek text that follows.

The contents of the book is very rich. Dr. Wait has had a laborious task in arranging it so that the student is enabled to

receive every possible benefit. There is a short sketch of Lysias' life, an analysis of his style of writing, a useful vocabulary, explanatory notes, a map to answer questions on geography and biography which may arise in reading, besides a complete list of idioms and phrases with reference to information on history and the many other topics with which the orations deal. The book closes with a brief chronological table of the period covered by the orations.

**

La Main Malheureuse. By H. A. GUERBER. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. 25 cents.

This, a charming little story written in 1873 for "Le Magasin Pittoresque," a prominent French Monthly, gives a lovely sketch of that middle-class of honest and industrious people, whose fate, whose joys and sorrows are constantly of interest and sympathy to the reader. It tells in select chosen language not only the ever sweet story of love, but describes interestingly the struggles and hardships of a young artist, showing his vivid ideas and high aspirations. The book is appended with a complete vocabulary, containing words, with which the student may not be familiar, and, this selection being calculated for more advanced work in schools and colleges, has been especially arranged for that purpose, and amply deserves to meet success. The student is also familiarized with a number of terms and idioms, including such expressions as are commonly used among artists in Paris.

**

An Elementary Course in Analytic Geometry. By G. H. TANNER and JOSEPH ALLEN. New York: American Book Co. \$2.

The American Book Company has deserved reputation for publishing not only popular, but also educational and scientific books of high quality, of which the present is a worthy sample. The "Cornell Mathematical Series" is a beginning in the right direction, which will lead other educational centers to follow its example. The present book will undoubtedly meet with much appreciation by most teachers of mathematical science throughout the English speaking world. It is a school book in every sense of its meaning. While it is the purpose of this series of scientific books to meet primarily the needs of students preparing specially for the departments of engineering and architecture, the book before us is not absolutely designed in that direction alone. It has, indeed, been so arranged as to make it suitable for the general run of students for any special advanced course.

Like every good school book, it has some certain aims. Its superiority consists not a little in a special extended introduction of the fundamental problems in analytic geometry, which are, as known, the chief difficulties in the way of beginners. It makes also extended use of some intrinsic properties of curves, thus helping the student particularly on the equation of the second degree, from which the XY-term is absent. The demonstration of general theorems by numerical examples, makes them not only clear, but shows the student, yes, teaches him the method, which he has to employ.

**

Cross Trails. By VICTOR WAITE. Illustrated by J. W. Kennedy. Boston: L. C. Page & Co. \$1.50.

Our knowledge of South America and its people is so limited that it was with much interest and expectation we glanced over the present book, only to be disappointed. It is too bad that Mr. Waite could not have given us a little more history and a little less story of our southern neighbors. That he is familiar and amply qualified to speak with authority of the Spanish half-breeds, Indians and other renegades is very apparent. When he chooses he can give the truest and best picture of these people we have seen in many moons, but alas, this part of the book is a mere setting for the romance. When the story takes us to Australia we hope to see the life of its people in the foreground with the story out of sight. The author does at first present a clear cut thumb nail sketch of the native and outcast population of the great island continent. But unfortunately, just as the reader gets deeply interested and satisfied with the book he again discovers the novel creeping in, until at last it commands the field to the utter rout of the real and instructive.

It would be hard to imagine a more lawless, reckless, immoral and vindictive citizen than the Spanish half-breed. The Indian is bad enough, but he is an angel when compared to the product of Spanish and Indian mixed blood. Picture the lowest of the low, a man without love, cruel to the last degree, a crea-

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ture we would call beastly save that it would cast an unwarranted slur on the animal, and you have the half-breed of South America. Turning then to the border settlers of Australia we discover with relief the Saxon who never descends to such depths of degradation as he who comes from southern climes. Such a man may be the ideal desperado and perhaps cutthroat, but with it all you find lurking not far from the surface a man who can feel for his fellow, a man who may be a disgrace to his forefathers but one who is not entirely destitute of the high and noble. Blood will tell, fight it as you may, and we can see ourselves in the border men of Australia even though they have fallen by the wayside. Lend them a helping hand and the inbred spirit of the true man may again shine forth to bless the giver, but among the Spanish half-breeds there is no hope, the seed of righteousness seemingly never sprouts.

Of the novel itself we can hardly express an opinion with justness and fairness. That it is powerful is undeniable. That it will interest any reader and hold his rapt attention throughout is also unquestioned. He who cares for blood and murder and all the vices will be well repaid for the time consumed in reading this book. The sketches presented are horrible and realistic. Mr. Waite has no hesitation in calling black and white by their own names, and calmly and in a singularly clear cut and forcible manner tells his awful tale. Sleep will come but slowly to the overwrought brain of him who looks through this book. As a sample of Mr. Waite's work we will quote a little from the scene depicting the self murder of the star of the tale.

"When a man is nearing the vortex of the whirlpool, there is a time when his heart becomes as the waste section in some back street where lie old boots and broken bottles, the leavings of a dozen wants of man, for in the waste places of the soul are strewn the ashes of lost love, the fragments of wasted talents, the dregs of dead desires, all the wreckage of a ruined life. Then, when the man begins to reckon of things, and looks within himself and sees only ruins of possibilities; looks around him and sees nothing to strive for; before him and sees no hope; above him and sees no God; he will generally take the shortest way of settling questions present and to come. Providence or some spirit of evil has mercifully provided for that man three things—drugs, drink, and after these—death. The last is the most satisfactory, because when a man knows no future it means oblivion, which is to him the one desirable thing. The worst of it is, he is like to be disappointed."

Three Little Crackers from Down in Dixie. By WILL ALLEN DROMGOOLE. Illustrated. Boston: L. C. Page & Co. \$1.

We understand the author of this story of the adventures of three Alabama boys transplanted to the everglades of Florida, is himself a Southerner. A short time since we noticed in these columns another juvenile story by Mr. Dromgoole, entitled "The Fortunes of the Fellow." The present is all well enough in its way and will doubtless be appreciated by many, but, in our opinion, it falls much below the other. Still, with a good deal of the vernacular of the country in which the scene is laid, this story is in many respects a good guide for independent youngsters, although it will hardly take a very strong place in their minds or hearts.

A Compend of Geology. By JOSEPH LE CONTE. New York: American Book Company. \$1.20.

The name of Dr. Le Conte is all sufficient guarantee of the excellence and completeness of this book. He is unquestionably the first geologist now living in this country, and since the death of Professor Dana a few years since the most renowned. Further, we believe no one will seriously question that Dr. Joseph Le Conte ranks as one of the three first scientists that America has produced, and to-day there is certainly no one in America held in such high esteem by scientific men the world over as he. Geology has been his special study, yet he probably feels, and we believe with reason, that his most lasting and valuable work is what he has done toward reconciling seeming conflicts between the teachings of science and true religious belief. It is here that the greatness of his master mind and the nobility of his character manifest themselves beyond power of expression. No one can read his "Evolution, and Its Relation to Religious Thought" and not feel better and stronger in faith for having done so.

Unless it is astronomy, there is no science so comprehensive and grand as geology, which to use the words of the author "treats of the past conditions of the earth and of its inhabitants." And as he also points out, there is no study which better equips the mind for a clear comprehension of difficult problems, no study which tends more to sharpen the powers of observation.

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When writing mention this JOURNAL.

We need not go into a discussion of the present volume, further than to say it has been prepared especially for school use and as an elementary text-book. Its plan and arrangement are the same as in the "Elements of Geology," published in 1882, of which this book may be said to be a condensed edition brought carefully up to date. The 360 illustrations and diagrams, with a few exceptions the same that were used in the larger work, are invaluable to the student.

Old Point Comfort, Richmond and Washington.—Next Six-Day Tour via Pennsylvania Railroad.

The second of the present series of personally-conducted tours to Old Point Comfort, Richmond, and Washington via the Pennsylvania Railroad, will leave New York and Philadelphia on Saturday, February 25th.

Tickets, including transportation, meals *en route* in both directions, transfers of passengers and baggage, hotel accommodations at Old Point Comfort, Richmond, and Washington, and carriage ride about Richmond—in fact, every necessary expense for a period of six days—will be sold at rate of \$34.00 from New York, Brooklyn and Newark; \$32.50 from Trenton; \$31.00 from Philadelphia, and proportionate rates from other stations.

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ABOUT BOOKS AND WRITERS.

In a recent review in these columns of Bismarck's Autobiography, we mentioned a report to the effect that the great German had intended to prepare a third volume, disclosing his relations with the present Emperor and giving the causes which led to his dismissal from official life by the young War Lord. Now comes a despatch from London stating that it is understood this volume was indeed written and now exists in a safe deposit vault in London, where it was put for safe-keeping in the fear that if entrusted to the Cotta publishing house it might be seized or suppressed by the German authorities. It is safe to say that if this proves to be so and the book is published as it doubtless will be, it will have an unexampled sale, not only among the admirers of the great Chancellor, but among his many enemies as well who will be equally as anxious, if for other reasons, to know what he has to say.

Bird-lovers will be interested in the new bi-monthly magazine, "Bird-Lore," published by the Macmillan Company, and edited by Frank M. Chapman, who has earned a well deserved reputation and ranks high among American ornithologists. Among those who will contribute articles during this year are John Burroughs, Bradford Torrey, Olive Thorn Miller, Florence A. Merriam, Mabel Osgood Wright. The half-tone photographic illustrations of birds, their nests, etc., taken from life, are an important and valuable feature of the magazine which is the official organ of the Audubon Societies. The first issue, which has just come to hand, is very attractively gotten up and replete with matter of interest to bird students.

Dr. Conan Doyle has just completed a new novel, to be published under the title of "A Duet—With an Occasional Chorus." His endeavor, according to the London Athenaeum, has been to draw married life as it may be, and frequently is; to describe the humors and incidents of the domestic experiences of a young couple of the middle class.

The scheme of sending books "on approval," started by the Doubleday & McClure Company last year, has proved so successful that the plan will be continued through 1899. The small "loss" incurred is said by the publishers to be a great compliment to the honesty of the American book-reading public.

Mr. Lecky the other day remembered an amusing little item about Carlyle as a reader. When in his reading the Chelsea Sage came upon a passage of high-flown eloquence, he would sometimes put a mark against it—a pair of small but well drawn donkey's ears. This reminds us of a comment of a Japanese student of English literature, who said he had the greatest difficulty in understanding Carlyle because he used so many words that were not to be found in the dictionary.

Correspondence and Oral lessons in 9th Year

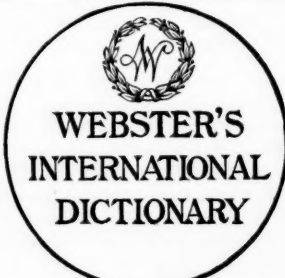
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